

# PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

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2d.

## Pacifist Answer to Japanese Aggression

### RENOUNCE WAR, AND ARMS, FOR OUR COUNTRY

EVERY day brings fresh evidence that humanitarian considerations carry little weight with those responsible for the conduct of the war in China, and, as PEACE NEWS forecast weeks ago, the Japanese are being pilloried as inhuman monsters. But two facts need remembering:—

1. The rest of the world has continually shirked the removal of economic causes of war and thus bears some responsibility for Japan's aggression.
2. The rest of the world is racing to prepare for a war more "frightful" than Japan's.

Although, as George Lansbury said a fortnight ago, "we pacifists are not on the defensive—it is not the practice of love, good will, and service which has brought the world to its present position," pacifists have a policy in the Chinese situation—to turn public opinion against war instead of against the Japanese. What are you going to do more practical than that—for peace?

#### A Challenge

#### WHAT is the pacifist answer to Japanese aggression?

What "Japanese aggression" means is indicated in the following resolution passed at Geneva on Monday by the Far Eastern Advisory Committee of the League of Nations—adopted by the Assembly and supported by the U.S.A. on Tuesday.

The Advisory Committee, taking into consideration the question of aerial bombardment of open towns in China by Japanese aircraft, expresses its profound distress at the loss of life caused to innocent civilians, including great numbers of women and children, as a result of such bombardments; solemnly condemns such acts, and declares that they have aroused horror and indignation throughout the world.

This indignation is being expressed by all, and the *Daily Worker* puts in a nut-shell the trend of the protests:

But this is not enough. The movement must grow stronger and stronger every day, until it becomes powerful enough to force the National Government to take joint action, through the League and with the United States, to stop the Japanese murders in China.

Three examples indicate the reality of that trend:—

The executive committee of the League of Nations would urge the Government to declare publicly that, in their opinion, the best method would be for all the countries concerned to refuse to accept any exports from Japan.

Sir Francis Acland, in a letter to *The Times*, Monday: More than three-quarters of Japan's present total trade is with countries under the flags of the Netherlands, the United States, and the British Empire. . . . They could act together and at once, and could in effect stop Japan's trade inward and outward within a week.

Mr. E. Shinwell, Labour M.P., in an address at Wigan, Monday, said that they must demand a boycott of Japanese goods; but there was something more than that. England was now cooperating with France. He believed that Russia and America were anxious to help. Those countries should cooperate to stop the detestable outrages, even to the length of military sanctions.

In three words, all condemn Japan. But the pacifist answer is to condemn war.

No representative of an imperialist

country is in a position to condemn Japan for doing what every imperialist has done, even though Japan uses more barbarous methods of warfare than the older empires used. Our methods were less barbarous (if indeed they were!) only because war and our victims were less advanced at the time of our adventures.

If we are engaged in a future war—and we are preparing for one—we shall have to do the very things we now condemn Japan for doing. We must—or lose the war.

For the purpose of war is to force the enemy to give in. This fact is recognized by the writer of a leading article in *The Times* of Tuesday, which is actually designed to condemn Japan! After showing that Japan was not winning her war, he adds:—

She has accordingly resorted to a campaign of promiscuous and indiscriminate terrorism of which the object is, not to defeat the ill-equipped but numerous Chinese armies in the field, but to break the spirit of the civilian population.

The pacifist answer, while criticizing Japan, not only for terrorism, but for using war at all, and recognizing that we cannot condemn the use of war by other countries while our own country also maintains the instruments of war, is to renounce war—and arms—for our own country.

But let a pacifist (Frank E. Moreton, Billingshurst, Sussex) speak for himself:—

I have written to many members of Parliament to ask them a plain question: *If Britain is ever at war, will you give a pledge that, so far as you have any power, no British airman shall be called upon to bomb undefended towns?* I suggest that Peace Pledge Union members should constantly remind people that, although the "National" Government and the so-called "Opposition" express horror when other nations bomb undefended towns, they are all prepared to do it themselves.

The chief object of the R.A.F., if we can believe Mr. Baldwin, is to "kill the women and children of the enemy more quickly than they can kill ours."

Let us challenge the politicians of both sides to deny the statement that, in certain circumstances, they approve of bombing women and babies.

Similarly, a conference of the West

## SCOTLAND'S "DICK SHEPPARD"

Peace Pledge Union's New Sponsor

SCOTLAND'S "Dick Sheppard" has followed England's and become a Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union.

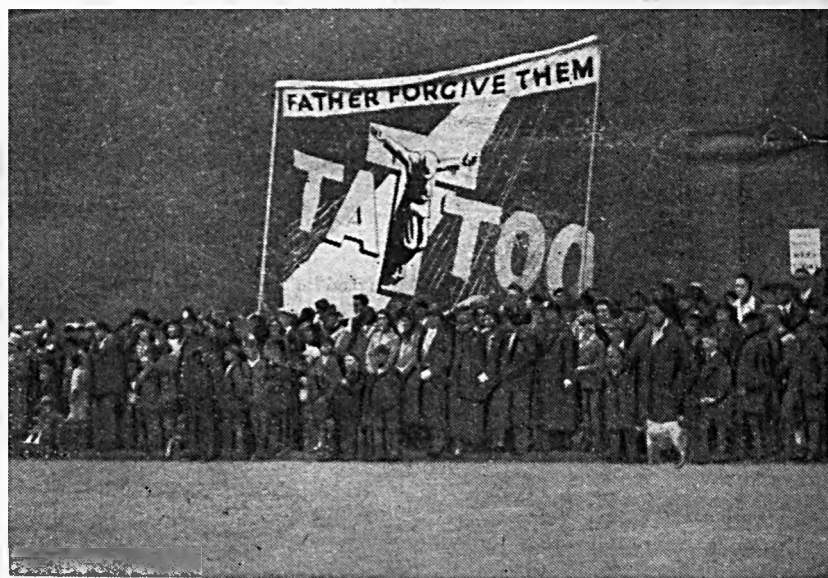
He is Dr. George MacLeod, of Govan Old Parish Church. Like the founder of the Peace Pledge Union, he is already well known to the millions who listen to his regular broadcasts. Meanwhile Dick Sheppard himself needs the support of all who can help in his candidature for the rectorship of Glasgow University, latest news of which appears on page 4.

## PACIFISTS ON PARADE GROUND

### Peaceful Opposition Goes On

From Our Own Correspondent Northampton, Sunday.

A GREAT sensation was caused at Wellingborough (Northamptonshire) when nineteen sandwich boards, hung on the railings of All Hallows' Church by permission of the vicar's warden, were taken down by order of the clerk to the Wellingborough Urban Council, and destroyed. This follows the striking protest (reported last week and pictured here) when a visit of the Tank Corps to Northampton, Wellingborough, and Kettering on a recruiting campaign led



Kent Region of the Peace Pledge Union at Dartford on Saturday passed a resolution, addressed to M.P.s, which deplores the Japanese action in bombing civilian populations in China; and urges that you will do your utmost to secure a public pronouncement by his Majesty's Government that they will not act similarly in any circumstances.

The national executive of the National Evangelical Free Church Council passed the following resolution last Friday:—

This meeting expresses its horror and indignation at the appallingly inhuman outrages perpetrated by Japan, in the bombing of Chinese cities, and calls upon his Majesty's Government to take all steps possible to prevent further atrocities, and especially to explore the possibility of urging the recommendations of the Air Commission of the League, with a view to the abolition of aerial warfare altogether.

But no Westerner can give a better pacifist answer to Japanese aggression than the Chinese can, and will in the long run, give themselves—in spite of their disastrous resort to arms. As *The Times* put it in its condemnatory leader:—

The Chinese civilian population is the most enduring, the most fatalistic, the best adapted to calamity of any civilian population in the world. No air raid can inflict on it a shock greater than those to which flood, pestilence, and other natural disasters have subjected it at frequent intervals throughout the ages.

(Leading article, page 6.)

pacifists to make their protest on the parade ground itself.

The vicar's warden declared that he had been under a misapprehension, thinking he was giving permission to the officer of the Tank Corps to exhibit recruiting posters! "I found out afterwards," he said, "that they were anti-war posters when I visited the Church."

The destruction of the sandwich boards by the Clerk to the Council would suggest that he was going beyond his rights and the case has been referred to the National Council for Civil Liberties.

When the tanks arrived at Kettering the town was anticipating another demonstration.

#### Hundreds Listened

Pacifists from Northampton, Spratton, and Thrapston assisted the local Friends and, with a fresh supply of sandwich boards and banners, nearly forty demonstrators made a peaceful witness to the futility of war and violence. Hundreds of Kettering people saw the demonstration.

Later, a crowd of 300 gathered in the Market Place to hear the case for pacifism put by the Rev. W. H. Cauldwell, Albert F. Tavener, and W. S. Seamark. For a long while after, little



groups of people stayed to talk to the twenty young men who stood out against all war.

Many members of the Tank Corps joined in in friendly conversation.

Nor are Northampton pacifists limiting their activities to countering the recruiting campaign.

Nearly a hundred helpers will take part this month in a house-to-house distribution, throughout the whole town, of the leaflet, *Gas Precautions—A Message to Every Householder*. Twenty-five thousand leaflets will be used.

All this activity has not been without effect, and the *Wellingborough News*, in a leading article on Friday, admitted that "the public has mostly been interested in efforts of the pacifically inclined to impress their views.

"The Mayor of Northampton flatly refused for reasons of his own conscience to welcome the tanks, and there have been demonstrations, or meetings and speeches against this manifestation of the 'war spirit' in several towns."

### Government Wants Disarmament —But Not Yet!

"WE are ready at any time to join in an international agreement for the reduction and limitation of armaments but..."

Speaking, at Geneva, to a resolution by the northern group of delegations, Mr. Walter Elliott, the British Government's representative, last week amplified the "but" in this pledge by Mr. Eden.

The resolution recommended conclusion of an international convention on "defence" expenditure publicity and suggested national supervision of the arms trade, and although Mr. Elliott declared that it had the full sympathy of his Government and would have its support, he added that for general negotiations a further period of waiting was essential.

It was for the nations to break the spell, added the British spokesman, without explaining how "the nations" can break the spell if the British Government considers essential yet another period of waiting.

(Perhaps it is explained by the German comment we quote in "Pars for the Platform" under the heading "As others hear us.")

Mr. Elliott apparently ignored the suggestion for national supervision of the arms trade and it is therefore not surprising that the Disarmament Committee of the League Assembly can see no prospect of progress beyond advocating publicity for and the supervision and coordination of national "defence" expenditure.

Meanwhile it must be demanded that Britain should adhere to the pledge of being "ready at any time to join in an international agreement for the reduction and limitation of armaments," without a "further period of waiting."

## DON'T MISS THESE!

### Peace and Remembrance

A CEREMONY for peace and remembrance will be held in Hyde Park, London, November 11.

This has been planned specially for the increasing number of people who, whether pacifist or not, like to observe the two minutes' silence of remembrance on Armistice Day but definitely dislike its association with the military ceremony at the Cenotaph.

### Peace Centre

CANON MORRIS officially opens Hull's Peace Centre, 64 Prospect Street, today.

This attractive shop, which has already been unofficially open for three weeks and has created much interest, is run by the Peace Pledge Union. So far it has been instrumental in gaining about twenty new members for the P.P.U.

There are rooms to let for meetings or any other social activities.

### Telling Tyneside

NEWCASTLE - ON - TYNE'S City Hall holds 2,500 people; Albion Assembly Rooms, at North Shields, a further 500. We prophesy both will be packed to hear Dick Sheppard, Runham Brown, and Canon Morris on the evening of October 13. All speakers will be at both meetings—the chairmen will be J. C. Graham and the Rev. Lewis MacLachlan respectively.

In both districts are a number of depots where 1s. and 6d. tickets for reserved seats can be had—in particular the Newcastle Cooperative Stores are selling them through their central premises and their fifty branches. Each branch, incidentally, is displaying a large poster advertising the meeting.

### A Vital Need

A resolution affirming opposition to the Government's "rearmament" plans and condemning its foreign policy was put to a demonstration held by the Cardiff & District Peace Council on Saturday.

Although the resolution also included support for collective "security" it also recognized "the vital need for a constructive peace initiative to be taken by the British Government and designed to remove the underlying causes of present international tension and the consequent drift toward war."

### Reflections and Comments

## BEWARE OF DOUBLE MEANINGS

says

LORD PONSONBY

WHEN people who are conducting a controversy use words and expressions capable of an entirely different interpretation by other people, it makes it exceedingly difficult for the ordinary mortal to follow the dispute.

I have found this with regard to international affairs just now in articles and letters to the Press and even in biased news-reports. For instance:

**Ideology.** This is a very fashionable word just now. But it is never used correctly. It really means the science of ideas. But it is invariably used as meaning a sort of rivalry between policies, generally applied to fascism and communism or dictatorship and democracy.

**The League of Nations** would seem to be a fairly simple expression. But far from it.

It either means what the League was intended to be, a League of all the nations of the world; or it means the League as at present constituted, with several nations outside; or it can be stretched to mean the so-called democratic nations with the addition of Russia.

It makes a considerable difference which definition is in the mind of the disputant when he proceeds to lay down what the League should do.

**THE Emperor of Abyssinia** may mean Haile Selassie, the Negus or the Lion of Judah or even Signor Tafari, or it may mean the King of Italy.

**A Spanish Nationalist** is used on one side to designate the supporters of the Spanish Government and on the other side it is the name given to the supporters of Franco, called by the others the insurgents. This is exceedingly confusing unless you know the newspaper or the views of the individual mentioning the combatants in some letter or report.

**Collective Security** may mean, in the view of the writer or speaker,

1. All nations acting together against a convicted aggressor; or
2. As many of the nations of the present League who can be induced to agree to the use of force; or it may mean
3. The British Navy going forward on behalf of the League to punish the aggressor.

**The aggressor** may be used as describing a nation condemned by the League for its failure to submit a dispute to the League and taking action before awaiting a verdict from Geneva; or it may be used of a nation whom the speaker or writer suspects of aggressive intentions.

**DEFENCE**, if analysed, is perhaps the most confusing expression of all. It is brought forward as a reason for rearmament by all the governments of the world.

In the War (1914-18) Great Britain was defending itself against Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Germany was defending itself against Great Britain, France, Belgium, Russia,

and Italy. America (without being attacked) was defending itself against Germany and her allies, and so on.

Although, as the War proceeded, whichever side was in the ascendant dropped talking of "defence." Attack is often described from the military point of view as the best defence. The elasticity of its meaning makes defence an excellent form of appeal for duping the people at the outbreak of war.

**Pacifist** may mean anyone who prefers peace to war, or those who believe that only the League of Nations should wage war.

It is used for an absolute non-resister and for those who refuse to participate in any attempt to settle international disputes by force of arms. Or it is simply a handy term of contemptuous abuse.

**WAR**, curiously enough, is supposed not to have changed its meaning.

It used to mean professional armies of infantry and cavalry and navies winning or losing pitched battles until "victory" was supposed to have settled the dispute.

It now means armies, navies, and air forces with tanks, machine guns, poison gas, submarines, mines, and explosive bombs, not only killing one another but massacring thousands of the civilian population and devastating towns beyond repair.

There is danger lest **Civil War**, which used to mean conflict between people of the same nationality, may come to mean war between several nations assisting or lined up behind the two antagonistic national parties.

In **Peace** we come to a word which is more misused than any. It is invariably used to describe the intervals between wars waged by the chief nations with one another.

But in the nineteenth century, for instance, there were not only the Napoleonic Wars, the Crimean War, the Austro-German War and the Franco-German War, but some forty other wars.

I think I am right in saying that since 1918 there has not been one year without a war. The word "Peace" can only become correct and a reality when nations renounce the war weapon for good and all.

**SO** I venture to think that it would be an advantage, in discussing these grave international problems, if writers and speakers could be more precise in using terms capable of so many definitions and if they would think out and explain the meaning of the terms they use.

Unfortunately many of them depend on vagueness for supporting a doubtful argument; and governments must always be ready to stir up popular indignation by a deliberate distortion or concealment of the facts.

All we can hope for, therefore, is that the common people may be put on their guard.

Arthur Ponsonby

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## Holland

## Air "Defence" Scheme Exposed

From a Special Correspondent

HOUSE-TO-HOUSE distribution of thirty thousand pamphlets was carried out by Dutch pacifist societies on the day before a recent air "defence" demonstration in Scheveningen, near the Hague.

"Parents, beware! Teachers, be prepared!" ran the warning in the pamphlet.

"You have heard how it was said to them of old 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'. But strife in these days is not a matter of trivialities of 'flesh and blood,' but of forces which attack you and your children like evil spirits of the air.

"It's 'bomb for bomb,—gas for gas' now. Or rather: be there before your enemy!

"Nowhere is this so clear as in air warfare: it's better to slay the defenceless than to be slain defenceless yourself.

## BE THANKFUL!

"Drop all this cant about love for one's neighbour . . . and all that half-draft idealism about the worth of man and the brotherhood of peoples! Absolutely nothing but pure defeatism and treason.

"Be thankful that the Union of National Safety is recruiting your sons, by its Air Defence Scheme 'for the strengthening of the defensive power of the people, in the air.'

"You should be pleased that you may offer your sons to the total war for the total State.

"Careful provision will be made at Scheveningen for the romance and bombast which are so necessary to blind the eyes of your boys, as far as possible, to the true political, diplomatic, and economic undercurrents of this game; to the deeper reasons why the same fellow who was formerly called brother on sports field, at jamboree, conference, or other international meeting, now becomes an enemy.

"This is the doctrine which this occasion is meant to instil. Love, not your neighbour, but

## This conference will hear about

## CIVIL LIBERTIES IN INDIA

DECLARING that "in India in recent years there has been widespread suppression of liberty in a variety of ways," the secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties has announced that this body, in conjunction with the India League, is convening an all-London delegate conference on civil liberty in India.

A message from Jawaharlal Nehru will be read at the conference (which will be held at Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1, on October 17) and speakers will include Professor Harold Laski, Mr. Lester Hutchinson, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, Dr. K. S. Shelvankar, and Mr. Harold Paton. It is hoped that all progressive organizations will send delegates; visitors will be welcome on payment of 1s. Delegates' credentials and visitors' tickets may be obtained from the conference office, 165 Strand, London, W.C.2.

## "DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES"

The Congress Party was not represented when the Viceroy of India addressed a joint session of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly.

## Twice Imprisoned French Pacifist to Visit England

PHILIPPE VERNIER, a young Frenchman who has twice undergone imprisonment for his refusal to perform military service, is visiting England this month as a guest of the Fellowship of Reconciliation at a number of whose branches he will speak.

Arrested in June, 1933, for refusal to do the usual span of military service, an attitude he took up on purely Christian grounds, he was condemned to one year's solitary confinement at Lille.

Although liberated in April, 1934, he was re-arrested a fortnight later for having still refused to rejoin the regiment to which he had been attached, and was condemned to two years' imprisonment in Fort St. Nicolas, Marseilles. This was the maximum penalty possible.

After his release from Fort St. Nicolas in December, 1935, he accepted a civilian position as assistant minister in Morocco and the Government decided to drop any further action against him, although he has not done his military service. Since last year he has been back at his work in Lille, where he originally started as an assistant minister after graduating in theology in Paris.

The London Union of the F.O.R. will give a reception to him on October 29 in the London Welsh Association Hall, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1, to which admission will be by invitation card only, owing to limited accommodation. Anyone wishing to be present should write to the Lon-

your nation above everything!"

## POLICE ACTION

It was intended to parade the "War service warning" vehicle, carrying posters, photographs, &c., on the same day. Before the military demonstrations began however, the vehicle was confiscated by the police "to prevent a disturbance of public order," with the understanding that it would be returned in two days.

Two days later the vehicle was driven through the city all day and attracted considerable attention.



PHILIPPE VERNIER

Paid the maximum penalty.

don Union of the F.O.R., at 165 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.

Particulars of Philippe Vernier's visits to other towns may be obtained from the assistant secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1).

## Mr. Eden: Nobel Prize Suggestion

From a Special Correspondent

Pastor Per Gyberg, leader of the Swedish pacifist movement, indignantly commenting on the suggestion that the Nobel prize should be awarded to Britain's Minister for Foreign Affairs, says that Eden's "activities have not been motivated by high ideals, but by a crass imperialistic imperialism."

## Visitors to Explain German Viewpoint

TWELVE German men and women arrived in Tonbridge, Kent, on Tuesday on a visit designed to give opportunities for allowing English people to obtain first-hand knowledge of the average German's viewpoint on topics of vital common interest.

They will remain until next Friday or Saturday and the Tonbridge branch of the League of Nations Union, which has arranged the visit, hopes that mutual understanding will be promoted.

Informal discussions are being held on "Youth movements," "National economic needs," "Ideals and aims in education," "Religion and the State," and "The use of leisure." The visitors were selected by the Anglo-German Academic Bureau, and are being entertained by Tonbridge residents.

## N.Z. Youth Peace Council

The inauguration of a youth peace council, which will coordinate and act as a clearing house for all youth organizations concerned with peace, is reported from New Zealand.

The president of the provisional committee is Professor Wood of Victoria College, Wellington, who left New Zealand recently for Geneva, where he had been summoned by the League Secretariat to attend the meetings.

The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation recently discussed ways and means by which the International Convention for the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace can be more widely and effectively applied.

## TRIAL BY JURY

This custom has long been an established procedure in English Justice. The St. Pancras Building Society fears no jury, its careful and progressive policy has already been proved by many members of the P.P.U. who are shareholders.

Write for particulars of the £10 Preference Shares which are withdrawable in full on short notice and upon which interest is paid at 4% per annum free of Income Tax.

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## Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By NIGEL SPOTTISWOODE

96 Regent Street, W.1.

**A**FTER Guernica — Canton. And still the Labour and Left wing parties refuse to see the true significance of the massacres. The *News Chronicle* has been giving an entertaining exhibition of mental contortionism in its attempt to be decently outraged at the Japanese bombing and at the same time to support a policy of re-armament against potential fascist aggressors. The idea dies hard that a democratic bomb is less painful than a fascist one, and we see the strange sight of the left wing in company with its arch-enemies, the German and Italian Governments, piously protesting to Japan in the name of humanity.

The *News Chronicle* sent a reporter along the embankment to interview "six ordinary people" and find out their views on the bombing. Their answers are illuminating. Three of them took the line "We must stop this bombing, but we mustn't go to war." One said "We must tell them to stop bombing women and children. Let them bomb the troops. If they take no notice, sock 'em and sock 'em hard." The other two said, "We ought to stop it, but if you once put the match to the wood, there's no knowing how far the flames will spread."

It will be seen that the first three belong to the now fashionable peace-and-war school. We must exert our influence, but it mustn't be a war. We must threaten, but we must make it clear that we have no intention of carrying out our threats. We must send battleships, but without ammunition. These amateur war-makers have little knowledge of the realities of the game which they are playing. The fourth was more realistic, though his remark about only bombing military objectives should be read in conjunction with Lord Ruthven's letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, in which he complains that the evacuation of the children from Bilbao was unfair to Franco as it meant that the beleaguered city had fewer mouths to feed. Modern warfare makes no distinctions between the military and the civilians. Only the last two are realists, and understand that if the aggressor is to be stopped by military measures, we must commit greater atrocities against him than he can against us.

It is nothing but craven fear which makes the left wing movement today see the devil in fascism and try to conjure up a greater devil on their own side. If they would inquire into Japan's grievances, they would see that it is the action of other countries, and particularly of Great Britain, which have forced her to take this extreme course. Japan has a population of 77 million squeezed into an area of a quarter of a million square miles. Australia has nearly three million square miles for her five million inhabitants. Yet what a flutter there was in the imperial dovecots when Japan suggested that she should emigrate her surplus population into part of Australia's undeveloped land. Small wonder that she is now trying to obtain her needs by more forceful methods.



Wokingham (Berkshire) P.P.U. group's "peace wagon," which took part in Wokingham Carnival.

## "NOW IS THE TIME!"

From Our Own Correspondents

**E**PPING'S only public hall, seating 500, was banned to pacifists. So the Peace Pledge Union took the Congregational Church in Lindsey Street last week for Dick Sheppard, George Lansbury, Capt. Mumford, and Thomas Southall, and the minister, the Rev. Thomas Lewis, took the chair.

**They filled it, overflowed into the adjoining church hall, and filled that to overflowing — about 600 people in all.**

Dick Sheppard told them that a great military expert, known throughout the world, speaking to him that day of pacifism, had said, "This thing has got to come; but the people are not ready for it." "When will it come?" asked Dr. Sheppard. "Now is the time!"

**It is now well known that Dr. Sheppard has been asked by students in Glasgow University to stand as pacifist candidate in the rectorial election, and Andrew Stewart, who is organizing the campaign, has been overwhelmed with offers of help.**

In an appeal for donations he says: With such a candidate, with an enthusiastic student committee, and with the irresistible moral and rational appeal of our cause, only financial support is needed to ensure the return of Dr. Sheppard as Britain's first pacifist Lord Rector.

We must win, and we will win if every pacifist in the country realizes that our fight is his fight, and that the future of all humanity is the cause at stake.

On Monday will be published the first issue of *The Pacifist*, a paper being produced specially for election purposes. Three issues in all will appear.

### LOCAL ACTIVITY

Meanwhile the autumn is seeing a great increase in the activity of local groups; here are some "snapshots" of that activity.

**Cheadle and Gatley** group is showing sound films, including *Kameradschaft*, tomorrow (see "Diary of the Week"). Tickets, 6d. and 1s., from W. J. Lyon, 6 Church Road, Gatley, and W. Marsh, 20 High Street, Cheadle.

**Harrow** group has published No. 1 of *Peace Work*, which tells of work done since inauguration, and has distributed copies to all local signatories.

**West Wickham's** recent garden party was attended by 130 members from different parts of Kent. Despite heavy rain most of the afternoon, enjoyment was not spoiled. Miss Rose Macaulay was there, and the West Wickham secretary outlined plans for the winter, stressing importance of reading *PEACE NEWS* for members who could not keep actively in touch with local group. Women members from **Bexley** group gave their display

## The Notice Board

**Basque children foster-parents:** photos. of your child can be bought at H.Q. now, 2½d. each.

**Collecting boxes** for use in raising funds for the P.P.U. are now obtainable from 96 Regent Street, W.1.

**Nottingham** group hold lunch at 12.45 p.m. on first Tuesday each month at Cooperative Restaurant, Parliament Street, Nottingham. Next lunch October 5. Write Mrs. Millard, 23 Ella Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.

**Group being formed at West Norwood, S.E.27.** Those interested communicate with Sydney Larcombe, 59 Auckland Road, London, S.E.19.

**Birmingham** wants more P.N. sellers each Friday, one hour or more between 4.30 and 9.30 p.m. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 3 Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

**W.C.1—N.W.1** group, who have arranged a social at 8 p.m., on October 8, at 8 Endsleigh Gardens, would reassure members of Central London groups who would care to attend that there will be tea and coffee, sandwiches and cakes, and visitors are not expected to bring their own food!

**P.N. Sellers** wanted for big meeting, City Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Oct. 13. Write Tom James, 74 Gill St., Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 4.

### A Member Writes On

## PAMPHLETS FOR USE ABROAD

**H**AVING recently returned from a short visit to Belgium, I was interested to read (in the September 18 issue) your correspondent's account of the bitter feeling he found there, which bears out my own disheartening experience.

The French-speaking Belgians have not a good word to say for the Germans, and are just as vindictive as were the English themselves twenty years ago. Unhappily I found that my imperfect knowledge of French made it impossible to convince anyone that anything good can come out of Germany, or that any good purpose can be served by extending the hand of friendship toward her.

**Accordingly I determined on my return to send across some simple pacifist pamphlets in the French language, which might do a little toward establishing the right mind necessary for peace. On calling at P.P.U. headquarters, however, I found that no such pamphlets were in stock.**

Your special correspondent asks, "Can we pacifists do something to eradicate the hatred engendered by the last war and to foster the new spirit of fellowship?" May I suggest that one thing we can do is to get some of our elementary propaganda leaflets translated into French, so that we may send them to our pen-friends in France and Belgium. I hope one of the departments at headquarters will consider this matter.

CLARENCE FRY.

17 Chestnut Walk, Saltford, near Bristol.

of dancing indoors owing to the weather.

**Tottenham** member, writing of recent cooperative peace demonstration, says:—

Posters such as "No More War" and "Our Sons Shall Not Be Killed" made a brave show.

On arrival at Hyde Park, however, they talked of the League and collective "security." I shall challenge this muddled-headed policy at our next cooperative meeting.

## GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

**T**HERE have been some important meetings last week—important, that is, because they show we are touching a new public. Last January we had some wonderful audiences, packed halls, and overflows, but they came either because they were already convinced or because they were curious. These new meetings of which I speak are also crowded and have bigger overflows, but consist of the anxious and the disillusioned: in fact, they are the "Yes-buts," whose number is legion. They have tried collective "security" and sanctions and rejected them; they have built their hopes on air-raid "precautions" and have been disillusioned by Guernica and Canton, realizing that there is no defence against bombardment. Pacifism is right in theory—what are they going to do about it? Such were the audiences of Epping, Romford, and Streatham Common in London and, if reports from groups all over the country are to be believed, of such are the audiences elsewhere. A new spirit—a new desire to believe that what they agree with in theory is practical politics—is spreading in all directions. It becomes the duty and the responsibility of our groups to satisfy and to sustain this new element.

New groups and the splitting up of old ones continue apace. The numbers in **Barnet** have grown to such an extent that a new group is being formed there. The new leader is Mr. Alan C. Baker, Roseheath, 17 Woodville Road, New Barnet, who would be glad to get in touch with pacifists living in the district.

**(Remember the North London rally at Golders Green on November 21.)**

**Notting Hill**, always a centre of activity and study, has divided and formed a new group in **W.2**. Miss Dighton becomes the new leader and hands over Notting Hill to Mr. T. S. Stallabrass, 4c Cheniston Gardens, W.8. This means a real step has been taken toward a closely knit West End region.

**Hastings** group is making itself felt and has a magnificent committee led by stalwarts. They have been visiting villages all through the summer (speaking and giving away literature) and have been responsible for starting a group at **Eastbourne**. More activity is planned for the winter and has already begun. A dramatic section will be producing plays and needs a few more men and young women.

I have visited two more **Women's Guilds** since last week and from each have come away filled with a certainty that the Cooperative Movement is awake at last to the reality of its position and is preparing itself to oppose all war.

The Sutton and district Peace Week Committee is holding a poster parade on Saturday afternoon, November 6. Our group at **Carshalton** is undertaking the organization of this parade and is asking for volunteers. Those willing to help should write at once to Mr. P. R. Alderman, 41 Central Way, Carshalton, Surrey.

**Note.** Will London group leaders please note that the next meeting will be held on October 5 at 7.45 in the King's Weigh House, Club Entrance, Thomas Street, opposite Selfridge's.

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## "A TALE TOLD BY AN IDIOT"



Drawn by E. E. BRISCOE

## THEY CAN'T KEEP PACIFISM OUT OF THE NEWS

Special to PEACE NEWS

**C**UTTINGS from over fifty newspapers—all on the theme of "Mr. Lansbury's revolt"—have been received by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group regarding the great national pacifist convention it held in London recently.

Thus, despite the attempt to prevent anything appearing in the Press which might assist the propagation of pacifism, it is impossible to prevent pacifism from being news!

Today, as delegates are arriving in Bournemouth for the Labour Party's annual conference, a great pacifist poster parade will take place. On Wednesday the pacifist challenge will again be brought before the Labour Party by means of a demonstration which the Parliamentary Pacifist Group will hold in Bournemouth Town Hall. George Lansbury, Lord Ponsonby, and Dr. Alfred Salter will be the speakers.

### A PACIFIST DIRECTORY

Besides this propaganda activity the Parliamentary Group has just produced a four-page *Literature List of Pacifist Fellowships, Groups, and Unions*.

In addition to being a literature list of all pacifist organizations it gives their names and addresses and thus serves as a directory as well.

Copies are obtainable from the sec-

retary of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group, Cecil H. Wilson, M.P., 48 St. George's Road, London, S.W.1, price 4d. for 10, 3s. for 100, and 27s. 6d. for 1,000.

Available from the same source shortly will be the more important speeches at the national convention in booklet form.

Now that we have an encyclopædia and a directory, all that the complete pacifist requires is a *Who's Who* of the peace movement. What offers?

### Teachers Call for a World Conference

From Our Own Correspondent

**"IT is absolutely ridiculous to plan for the future of education if we do nothing to remove the possibility of war from the world,"** declared Mr. Philip Matthews (Vice-President) in moving a resolution on peace at the Annual Conference of the National Federation of Class Teachers, held in Birmingham recently.

The resolution expressed "alarm at

## Scouts' "Duty to God and the King" WHAT IT MEANS—DURING PEACE AND WAR

**THE attitude of the Scout movement toward pacifism, which has formed the subject of recent correspondence in PEACE NEWS, is clearly indicated in a reply received by H. M. Coles, of Wellingborough, a member of the movement who, on joining the Peace Pledge Union, asked Scout headquarters whether he could remain in the movement.**

"I received the answer," he writes, "that during peace time I had the right to follow the dictates of my own conscience as regards my duty to God, but if war came and provision were not made by the State for conscientious objectors, the law would have to be obeyed and I would in all probability have to surrender my warrant."

As the Scout's Promise is "to do my

the present arms race," and urged the Government "to give full support to a world conference." Mr. S. G. White, of Birmingham, seconded and the resolution was passed unanimously.

The conference also discussed the religious liberty of teachers, and the main point emphasized was the right of the teacher to refuse to obey an instruction if it interfered with the freedom of his conscience.

duty to God and the King"—presumably in that order—this answer provides yet another argument for pacifism, for, as our correspondent pointed out in his reply to Scout headquarters, "since war prevents people from doing their duty to God, it is clear that it must be avoided at all costs."

This pacifist is still in the movement as he believes "its international character is a great force for peace," but he adds that "if air-raid precautions schemes and scrap-iron collecting are forced on us that will be a different matter."

Concerning the suggestion, reported last week, that a meeting be arranged between Mr. Hubert Martin, International Scout Commissioner, and Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, to discuss the similarities and differences between the P.P.U. and the Scout movement, Kathleen Scott, of Walthamstow, writes:

"I think this is a most useful idea, and would like to call the attention of both, and also of all members of both organizations, to a very well written and useful pamphlet by Joseph Gorman called *Death's Jamboree*."

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

October 2, 1937

## CHINA AND YOU!

WE do not need to repeat in this newspaper any of the frightful details of the bombing terror in China. Our contemporaries are full of them. Perhaps not so full, but certainly more impressive, is the pictorial record put out by the Paramount film company. Here are uncensored motion pictures of what war really is like. Other theatres will show you only those parts of war which they (presumably) think you can—or ought to—stomach. **But favour instead, and encourage your friends to favour, the theatres which show the real thing.** The Government would like you to see all "the thrills and drama of a genuine air attack." For that is what the crowds will be given, according to the *Morning Post*, when the fortnight's recruiting campaign for the Territorial Army begins on Thursday in Wembley Stadium.

Then what? If you see on the screen only Japanese airplanes bombing defenceless Chinese, you will doubtless join in the frenzied demands that "something" be done to stop the "fascist murderers." And you will either go on, or encourage others (if only by implication) to follow the hate-monger and demand that Japan be forcibly stopped. Then, when it is too late, you will see that this means doing not the same thing as Japan is to be stopped doing but the same thing sufficiently multiplied to "impress" even Japan.

But if you see on the screen the grinning, mocking skeleton of war, you will be able to save yourself—and perhaps even the world—the pain and irreparable loss of this roundabout, rake's progress. You will see that not only Japan but any people which maintains war as an instrument of policy—national or international—**necessarily** maintains airplanes and **therefore** the things for which they are maintained, namely "horror piled upon horror." You will see that, given this assumption (held by the majority of people in this country, remember) that war is a legitimate instrument, this horror is not, as the *New York Times* for example screams, "as stupid as it is brutal." It is as **necessary** as it is a brutal part of war. For the object of war is not to beat the enemy, as in sport, but to make the enemy "dead beat," so that they have to surrender—eventually to the dictates of the more brutal party. This is done by making the enemy civilians so uncomfortable that they force their government to give in. Hence the need of air raid drill, not to defend the people, but to make them less ready to give in. Hence, too, the need for investigating microbe war, as shown in an article in the *News Chronicle* for September 20, which unnecessarily attributes it to Germany when it should be attributed to the acceptance by **anyone** of the war method.

And if you see these things—"what are you going to do about it?" Clearly you cannot condemn Japan. It is war that is to be condemned. Renounce war; never support or sanction another; and see that others learn the same lesson of the war in China.

## Foreign Policy of the Labour Party

By WILFRED WELLOCK

IT is not the business of the Peace Pledge Union to attach itself to any political party. At the same time every one of its members recognizes that if war comes it will do so as the result of wrong political action, and thus that it is of the utmost importance, in order to secure right political action, to watch political trends, and to find in them opportunities for converting the community to the pacifist faith.

Hence the P.P.U. is naturally interested in the policies of political parties. In this article I want mainly to deal with the peace policy of the Labour Party, since this will be in the limelight during the next few days.

Now there is very much in that policy with which most pacifists would agree, especially in regard to imperialism and international economic organization. But, unfortunately, these good features are mixed up with proposals for military defence, the operation of sanctions, &c., in cases of aggression, which might easily precipitate a major war, the very thing it is desired to avoid. Thus a dualism exists which is perplexing the minds of thousands of Labour supporters, and the P.P.U. will render an excellent service if it can help to remove that dualism by revealing the contradiction between Labour's constructive proposals and its reliance on militarism as a so-called last resort.

That contradiction springs from failure to connect cause and effect. A striking example of that failure is contained in a key sentence in Mr. Attlee's recent book *The Labour Party in Perspective*, viz.: "If the forces of tyranny are prepared to take risks, and know the forces of liberty are not, liberty will not long survive." That sentence reveals a reversion to the "mad-dog nation" theory—a lapse which one would have thought impossible in a Labour leader of Mr. Attlee's calibre. It assumes that the nations are divided up into sheep and goats, into peaceful, non-aggressive, justice-loving nations, and warlike, aggressive, wrong-doing nations. Whereas the truth is that the world is witnessing a growing conflict between two sets of Powers, the Haves and the Have-nots, the latter being in revolt against an evil and impossible condition of things which we are all bound to acknowledge is the outcome of centuries of wrong doing, and which has been severely aggravated by the conduct of the so-called peaceful Powers since the close of the Great War.

It is axiomatic that cause and effect hang together. If the cause of an evil be removed, the evil itself will vanish. Were the economic causes of fascist aggression removed by courageous action on the part of the imperialist Powers, that aggression could not continue owing to a psychological transformation. Were the Labour Party to act upon that simple elementary fact it might become the greatest force in world politics and save humanity from the biggest catastrophe that has ever threatened it. The Labour Party is not justified in assuming that the German people stand solidly behind Hitler, and will say "yes" to everything he commands. Yet the fact is that Hitler never ceases from assuring the German nation of his peaceful intentions, and he knows that it has tolerated rearmament solely in order that Germany may remove the injustices of the Versailles Treaty and of imperialism. Were those injustices removed and imperial and international policy rationalized in the way Labour proposes, the case for territorial expansion would disappear, with the consequence that Hitler and the other dictators would find it impossible

to win national support for any policy of aggression.

Now the tragic mistake which the Labour Party is making, as I see the position, is that instead of taking the line of constructive action, and concentrating on that at all costs, it is contenting itself with making verbal acknowledgments of the wrong that has been done to Germany, &c., and merely promising to deal with that issue in due course, and after certain conditions have been fulfilled. In the meantime, whilst our own imperialist aggression continues, together with the wrongs which spring from that aggression, Labour is prepared to support the Government's armament programme, and even to demand more thorough-going action against the "new" aggressors—a policy which clearly involves the complete militarization of the State, and, in the end, war.

That, I must confess, reveals a mental attitude I am unable to comprehend, one that seems impossible outside a madhouse. And again I want to insist that it springs from the fundamental error of relegating causative action to the rather dim future and confining present action to military preparation, and thus to working up passion against the fascist Powers which, after all, are but challenging one imperialism with another.

But there is more to it than that. While many Labour leaders are working up passion against the fascist dictators, and are ready to support increased armaments in order to combat fascism, there is no apparent disposition on the part of the Government to act in the way desired. Indeed, all the indications are that it is far more inclined to placate the fascist Powers by tacitly consenting to their territorial expansion. It is, in fact, on the horns of a dilemma: it has to choose between the expansion or the overthrow of the fascist Powers, knowing that in the latter event revolution and in all probability a widespread communist triumph would follow. Thus, if the present policy continues, we may witness the world being partitioned into some half-dozen fascist or semi-fascist empires. By supporting the Government's armament programme, therefore, the Labour Party is helping to buttress the fascist Powers and to extend the sway both of fascism and imperialism.

Even worse, that support, inspired by the fear and hatred of fascism, is causing Labour to play completely into the hands of the Government in regard to the military organization of the State. Although the Government has no intention of going to war with Nazi Germany, it is not averse to using the fear of Germany in order to get the armaments and the military organization it desires. And Labour leaders who can contemplate the possibility of a war with the fascist Powers, a war which will result in a thousand Guernicas and Shanghais, cannot be expected to boggle over such small matters as industrial and military conscription, especially since conscription will come in any case should war occur. Besides, it will be necessary to outdo fascism in every direction if it is to be defeated in war. In other words, if a military policy be pursued, fascism will become necessary here in order to beat fascism in Germany. And that is where the Labour Party, the Liberal Party, or any other party will be driven which even dreams of destroying fascism by military might.

These are the issues involved in the discussions on foreign policy which are to take place at the Labour Party's annual conference, to be held in Bournemouth next week. The immediate issue is whether Labour shall support the Government's armament programme. But the decision taken will, in fact, determine whether the party shall devote its whole strength to the all-important task of completely transforming international relations, which would involve the abolition of colonial imperialism, and thus the removal of the main causes of war, or whether—by supporting the armament programme—it shall give support to policies which it holds to be highly dangerous, help to expand and buttress the fascist Powers by a process of widening and strengthening the ramparts of imperialism, and later on be driven, in the name of military necessity, into supporting measures of conscription, &c., which would be tantamount to setting up fascism here.

Risks are involved in either of these courses, but I for one prefer the risks of just and generous action to the risks of war, which seems inevitable along the lines of present policy. Is it beyond our power to convert the Labour movement to this position?

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# Party LOCK PARS FOR THE PLATFORM

### Italo-German Policy

THE Italo-German community of interest which has been emphasized by the visit of Signor Mussolini to Germany has been stated by the authoritative Italian, Signor Gayda, to be summed up in these four demands, which are represented as conditions for the full collaboration of these countries with other European Powers:—

1. A complete understanding of and due respect for fascism and national-socialism as ideological movements identified with the two States;
  2. Recognition of the right of Germany and Italy to political, material, and moral parity with other great nations on every occasion;
  3. A greater sense of understanding and respect for the rights of all nations to live and progress; and
  4. That all the European nations should reacquire a sense of their common civilization and help in the defence against subversive movements and the common danger.
- The final "demand" (comments *The Times*) contains an unmistakable appeal to Europe to unite against bolshevism, and the persistency with which the anti-bolshevist note is struck cannot but render highly doubtful the chances of Italy ever consenting to recall the "volunteers" now in Spain. If this demand is made during the proposed tripartite conversations it is not likely to be accepted.

### "A Matter of Course"

THIS "anti-bolshevist" policy is being emphasized with ominous persistence and to the point of making it clear that it is really an anti-Russian policy. It occurs not only in connexion with Spain. When it was announced that Germany would not take part in the work of the Asiatic Committee, revived by the League of Nations to deal with the war in China, German newspapers explained, not that their country could not cooperate with the League (as might have been expected, even understood), but that "as a matter of course Germany cannot be expected to sit at the same table with M. Litvinoff and Dr. Negrin" (Spain's Premier).

### Challenge

THIS deliberate exclusion of one country even from the possibility of the peaceful solution of problems is brought more into harmony with Herr Hitler's repeated professions of peace, and declarations that there is no problem that cannot be so solved, by Germany's Rome Ambassador, when he writes that Germany and Italy "are ready to grasp the hand of all who have the will to fruitful cooperation."

Here is the challenge to the U.S.S.R.—and to all who accuse Italy and Germany of being disturbers of the peace—to show that they themselves are makers of the peace. It will be all the more necessary if it is true, as *The Times* reports of the dictators' meeting in Munich, that they

"doubtless also have agreed that nations which showed good will" in the matter of "greater regard for the necessities of life of nations such as Germany, which complain of lack of room," "with the exception of course of Soviet Russia, would be welcome additions to the 'axis'."

### Colonies—for Whom?

FEW people regard with favour the suggestion that Germany's former colonies should be returned to her. Pacifists, while definitely not among these, hold, as a corollary, that no country should own colonies. Support for this view was contained in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* of September 24 from the Senior Lecturer in Geography at Manchester University, Mr. Walter Fitzgerald. Among his points were these:—

My reading of the modern history of Africa—for the period from 1884 onward—leads me to the conviction that Teutonic rule in East Africa and the Cameroons was at least as enlightened as French rule in Equatorial and West Africa, as Belgian rule in the Congo, or as British rule in our East African Protectorate (now known as Kenya)—not to mention Portuguese rule in any of the colonies governed from Lisbon. Has not Mr. Eden within the last few days mentioned three percent as the proportion of the trade of the world contributed by colonies? The term "colony" was in this connexion used vaguely, and our Foreign Secretary might well be asked if it includes dominions, mandated territories, and protectorates. Even if it does not, Mr. Eden might be reminded that tropical colonies produce the greater part of the world's rubber, palm oil, and cocoa—and these are not negligible products.

Apart from the strong argument that it would not pay Germany to maltreat physically the natives in her charge this also might be said: that the experiences of the Bantu in South Africa and of the Kikuyu and Masai in East Africa are not such that we can, with any confidence in our own case, condemn the Germans in advance because it is alleged their rule would inevitably introduce slavery. If only we could say with sincerity that the welfare of the natives was our main objective in Africa! But if we did our German and Italian critics would rightly remind us of the colour bar in South Africa, of the confiscation of political rights from the Cape natives within

(Concluded on page 11, column 4)

## A Weekly Commentary

By J. Middleton Murry

# TAKING THE RISK

A WEEK ago there was put into my hands a book, translated from the French, called *The Diary of a Country Priest*. I found it exciting indeed: one of the most penetrating portrayals of religious experience, in its fullness, that I have ever read. At one point in it, the Curé, who is the imaginary author of the diary, meets a young officer of the French Foreign Legion. They have a strange discussion together. I recommend it to my readers. It approaches—or rather the young officer approaches—the question of Christianity and War from an angle that is not likely to be familiar. "There is no Christianity," says the officer. "There never will be again." "But why?"

"Because there are no more soldiers. No soldiers, no Christianity. You'll say the Church has survived, and that's the chief thing. Sure. But Christ's Kingdom on Earth will never be again."

He is, of course, thinking of the mediæval crusaders; and no doubt idealizing them. We know a thing or two nowadays; and among them we know that the crusaders were a gang of barbarian brigands, or mediæval bagmen opening up the Levantine trade-routes. But there was a good deal more to it than that: an essence, a motive, that we can hardly recapture today, but of which the echo reaches me in Shakespeare's lines:

Many a time hath banish'd Norfolk fought  
For Jesus Christ in glorious Christian field,  
Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross  
Against black pagans, Turks and Saracens;  
And toiled with works of war, retir'd himself  
To Italy; and there at Venice gave  
His body to that pleasant country's earth,  
And his pure soul unto his captain Christ  
Under whose banner he had fought so long.

It may be illusion; but those last two lines tell me something about the far-off crusaders that I believe to be true—and something which the Christian pacifist should not forget.

However—"What is your grudge against the Church?" the Curé asks the officer; and he answers:

"Mine? Oh, nothing much. You've secularized us. The first real secularization was that of the soldier. And it's some time ago now. When you go snivelling over the excess of nationalism, you should remember that it was you who first pandered to the law-makers of the Renaissance, whilst they made short work of Christian right, and patiently constructed, under your very noses, right in your very faces, the pagan State: the State which knows no law but that of its own well-being—the merciless countries full of greed and pride."

The indictment is not unfamiliar, when it is made by Catholic apologists against the

Reformation: but when it is made by a soldier against the Catholic Church itself—in a book which is both Catholic and Christian in the noblest sense of those abused words, it is impressive. And it gathers force as it goes on.

"Listen," says the Curé. "I don't know much about history, but it seems to me that feudal anarchy had its own risks."

"No doubt," replies the officer. "But you wouldn't take them. You left Christianity high and dry; it took too long, it cost a lot and brought in very little. You gave us 'the State' instead. The State to arm us and clothe us and feed us, and take charge of our conscience into the bargain. Mustn't judge, mustn't even try to understand! And your theologians approve it all, naturally. With a simper, they give us permission to kill, kill anywhere, anyhow, to kill by order, like executioners. We are supposed to defend our land, but we can also be used to keep down revolution, and if the revolution should win we serve it instead. No loyalty required. . . . But between you and me, when do your theologians intend to stop? The cleverest killers of tomorrow will kill without any risk. Thirty thousand feet above the earth any dirty little engineer, sitting cosily in his slippers with a special bodyguard of technicians, will merely have to press a button to wipe out a town, and scurry home in fear—his only fear—of being late for dinner."

There is a terrible lot of profound historical and religious insight concealed behind that passionate paragraph. Feudal anarchy had its own risks, says the Curé. "But you wouldn't take them," says the officer. Five words containing, I believe, as much of the truth of history as there is even in *The Communist Manifesto*. Five prophetic words. For the wheel has turned full circle; and once more the Christian Church is faced with the necessity of taking the risk of anarchy. The difference is that in those days, of which the young officer speaks, the Church had possessions and authority. Now it has merely possessions. The Church that could once have prevented the growth of the pagan State, because it possessed an authority before which the greatest of temporal monarchs quailed, can now do no more than grant dispensations, "with a simper," to "the dirty little engineer"—dispensations drawn up, as the young officer biting says, "by the Secretary of the Board of National Conscience."

What Christian Europe has taught it, with the approbation of the Church, the East has learned. Shanghai, Nanking, Canton—the European conscience cannot rake up a protest. It is better so; or wiser, anyhow. The judgment that condemns Japan, condemns all Europe, too.



## Recent Publications

## Mass-Observation

EFFECTS ON THE WATCHER  
—& THE WATCHEDMAY 12th MASS-OBSERVATION  
DAY SURVEY. Faber and Faber.  
12s. 6d.

Reviewed by F. STROUDE

THIS book contains extracts from the reports of over 200 observers, in widely different walks of life, concerning the effect of the coronation celebrations on their daily life and that of the people around them.

As previously explained in these columns, the purpose of these day-surveys is to collect a mass of information about the lives and reactions of everyday men and women from which it would be possible to obtain a clearer perspective of the weaknesses and strengths of the social economic and international structures.

The book is excellently presented and is extremely interesting reading. In the opening chapters a mass of useful information relative to the preparations for the ceremony is collected. The bulk of the book is made up of word pictures from the observers of their experiences on this exceptional day. In the concluding chapter an outline is given of the manner in which the committee suggests analysing these day-surveys.

## FUTURE EFFECTS

The reports show very clearly that the practice of mass-observation produces an increased acuity of mental vision, but, as is to be expected, the appreciation of the humorous or unusual is considerably coloured by the emotional and slightly hysterical atmosphere of the day.

This experiment is well worth watching, as it is likely to have far-reaching effects, although perhaps not quite in the way the originators intended.

The closer observation of others is bound to produce a more critical self-analysis in the observer, whilst the gradually spreading appreciation of the fact that they are being observed will produce a repression or transmutation of the anti-social traits among non-observers.

The resulting changes in psychology and behaviour, although vitiating the usefulness of previous observations, will, most certainly, help forward the evolution of that state of brotherhood which we, as pacifists, so earnestly desire.

INTERNATIONAL PAX PLAYERS  
ASSOCIATION

## The Central Group Players

present

## 'MOLOCH'

(a play in 3 acts)

by WINIFRED CARTER

at FRED TALLANT HALL

141 Drummond St., N.W.1

(Stations: Warren St., Euston &amp; Euston Sq.)

on

Thursday, Oct. 7, at 8 p.m.

(doors open 7.30)

TICKETS:—1/- &amp; 2/- (inc. tax) from Mrs. E. Eunice Horner, 48 Arlington St., N.1. Members of the Group, and at the Hall.

Somerset Maugham—  
ArtistWILLIAM SOMERSET  
MAUGHAM. R. H. Ward. Geof-  
frey Bles. 8s. 6d.

Reviewed by HEDLEY SMART

MR. SOMERSET MAUGHAM is not one of my favourite modern authors. He has a fine prose style, but his approach to life is a little too ruthless for my taste. His characters make me think of painted puppets, dancing in an empty room.

Mr. Ward, in this critical study of him, has been at some pains to find out the *leitmotif* of his apparent cynicism. Mr. Maugham has always been something of an enigma from the critics' point of view, for he professes no particular faith in anything.

He watches over his characters with no more obvious enthusiasm than a surgeon performing a major operation. His work is uneven, ranging from magazine pot-boilers and stage melodrama to novels like *The Moon and Sixpence* and a play like *For Services Rendered*.

## FALSE MODESTY

But, according to Mr. Ward, his apparent cynicism is nothing more than false modesty, a refusal to carry his heart on his sleeve. The lack of a concrete background to his work arises simply from the fact that Mr. Maugham has not yet made up his mind whether he does, or does not, believe in any sort of heaven.

Mr. Ward's own book is a first-class piece of criticism, marred only by the faults inherent in a work that deals with a live author; he fixes no label to Mr. Maugham, but regards him simply as an artist and examines his work in that light.

To call him, as Mr. Desmond MacCarthy has done, "the English Maupassant" seems to me very like nonsense, but Mr. Maugham is undoubtedly a big figure among the writers of today. Mr. Ward's book does him justice, and should help a good many readers to a clearer understanding of the purpose behind the dull men and starved women who grace so many of his pages.

## 'RECONCILIATION'

A useful survey of the circumstances in which the Indian Congress ministries are placed, and how their future action is likely to be affected, is given in an article in the current number of *Reconciliation*—obtainable from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

SO far, the following has been accomplished; an executive, a producer, and a stage staff have been appointed; the play has been chosen; copies of it have been sent, with an indication of the part that he is to play, to every member of the company. A day or two later the company should be called for a reading; this is the first step in the practical work upon the play.

A reading is often a disappointing affair, dreary, lifeless, and discouraging. The actors are not yet familiar with the script, and perhaps not with each other; they may be nervous, and this may make the best of them appear the worst. In any case, a reading, though a necessary evil, is bound to be unsatisfactory: a play is dead without movement and action.

But the producer should not interrupt the reading or give at this stage instructions as to how parts should be interpreted. Moreover, a reading is for his special benefit, and from it he can

## FILMS

This News-Reel showed  
WHAT WAR MEANS

A CORRESPONDENT recently suggested that a protest might be made against the consistently militaristic outlook of many news-reels.

A welcome contrast to this tendency has been provided in a British Paramount news-reel showing the terrible effects of aerial bombardment in Shanghai.

The scenes it records are not the most valuable part of the film, however. (They could easily have been used as "atrocity" pictures.) What made the film an antidote to militarism were the words of the commentator.

"The war-mongers and false patriotism," he said, "have too long been painting war with the colours of romance. The news-reel camera, as a public duty, shows it as it really is—war which murders women and children as



A scene from the Paramount news-reel.

easily as soldiers."

The manager of a London news-reel theatre which showed the film said that he originally decided to cut out one sequence, but that on reflection he did not do so. "Adult cinemagoers," he added, "should be given the opportunity of seeing a piece of truth."

## The Root of All Evil

THE PREVENTION OF FUTURE  
CRISES IN THE WORLD  
ECONOMIC SYSTEM. Robert  
Bosch. Constable. 1s. 6d.A MANAGED GOLD STANDARD.  
E. A. Meyer. W. Heffer and Sons,  
Cambridge. 6d.INTEREST—THE MODERN MON-  
STER. Wilfred Wellock. National  
Cooperative Men's Guild, Guar-  
dian Building, Pall Mall, Man-  
chester, 2, and Scottish Coopera-  
tive Men's Guild, 1 Balure Street,  
Glasgow, E.1. 1½d.

IN his foreword to the first of these booklets, Lord Davies writes:

Recognizing the basic truth that the interests of the employer and his work-people are, in the long run, identical, and that from a broad standpoint whatever hurts one must also be injurious to the other, he [Robert Bosch] has throughout his career consistently advocated the peaceful settlement of all industrial disputes.

So it is hardly surprising that the author urges that "private capitalism must adapt itself, otherwise it is likely to disappear."

Without necessarily arguing that orthodox socialism must replace capitalism, it is only necessary to mention that the author dismisses socialism with the remark that "the kind of human being necessary to the conduct of a socialist State simply does not

exist," to indicate that his enlightenment as an employer of men does not seem to be matched by similar enlightenment respecting humanity at large.

E. A. Meyer, in the second publication, argues that our monetary system has not kept pace with the world's increased productivity.

To remedy this he proposes a managed gold standard, which would enable States to embark on schemes designed to create prosperity. The scheme envisages international co-operation.

Wilfred Wellock has performed a valuable service in exposing, in the third pamphlet, the power wielded by those governments to whom other governments owe money.

In the national sphere, too, the facts he gives are no less startling.

Did you know, for instance, that in 1931 (the last year for which full statistics are available) "more than one-third of the national income went into the pockets of people who in return for it rendered not a hand's-turn of service"?

Small wonder that usury was once illegal! "If only in order to abolish the private right to receive interest," urges Wilfred Wellock, "socialism and cooperation thus become the most vital need of the age."

Many are convinced that only some such radical change in our economic system will eradicate the evils mentioned in all three pamphlets.

## More About Plays—7

learn a great deal, mostly by indirect indications, about the play in general and his actors in particular.

Almost certainly he will at once be beset by doubts about his casting; it will seem that he has sadly miscast several parts, if not that the actors to whom he has given them are totally incapable of playing them or anything else. But it will be unwise to make alterations at this stage, or even at the earlier rehearsals.

In a little while suspected miscasting will be confirmed or not, and, so long as they are made before rehearsals are properly under way, alterations should not be made hastily: the producer's intuitions when he originally cast the play will very likely prove to have been correct.

A discussion should follow the reading, in which everyone should say all

that he or she wants to say about the play, the individual parts, and the doubts and difficulties that present themselves. The producer should be aware, now and at all times, that others in the company may well have ideas as good as his own. Discussion will in any case remove many of the doubts and difficulties, and a good producer will remove them all in course of rehearsals.

The producer might, before the meeting breaks up, urge upon the company the necessity for learning words. Rehearsals will always be inhibited while the cast is fumbling with scripts. Perhaps a time-limit might be fixed for the learning of parts, after which everyone should be word-perfect. The date, time, and place of the first rehearsal (together, if possible, with a time-table of future rehearsals, drawn up to suit general convenience) should then be announced.

R. H. WARD



JACK HOYLAND describes

## A WORK CAMP in SPAIN



A FEW weeks ago an air-mail SOS was received at the Work Camp Clearing House (Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham). It came from a relief worker feeding refugee children in Spain, and asked for a team from England to help establish a children's colony in Catalonia.

Children of both sides in the Spanish struggle are welcomed impartially by the relief organizations. The appeal seemed therefore to open up excellent opportunities for applying the ideals of practical pacifism.

A team was gathered, mainly of educationists. The Foreign Office would not grant visas to anyone under 21, and we all had to sign a paper absolving the British authorities from all responsibility for our protection or evacuation in case of need. Thus for the time being we became that very unusual thing, pacifists unprotected by the armed might of their country.

WE found, on arrival in Spain, a large estate with a dozen or more empty houses, gutted, smashed, and defiled, which had been handed over to the International Voluntary Service for the establishment of a colony, eventually to number about 500 children.

An advance party of about thirty, including three I.V.S. workers, had already moved in a day or two previously. Our party, numbering about a dozen, had to improvise cooking and other arrangements. Fortunately there were three women among us, who, under the invaluable leadership of Mary Burt of Birkenhead, (as Housekeeper) took it in turns to do the cooking.

Supplies of food were very scarce. The only things at all to be relied upon being milk and (not very nice) bread, and even these in strictly limited quantities. However, we found it possible to do seven or eight hours a day of hard physical labour on this very sparse diet, though it took some time to get used to such conditions!

There was a great variety of work to be done. First, objects still useful had to be rescued and collected from the gutted houses. Then choked water-courses had to be cleared, in order that the fields might drain, or be softened for digging. The first necessity was food for the children, and this meant breeding pigs, poultry, rabbits. A long wall had to be broken down to provide bricks for building hen-houses and pig-sties. The bricks had to be cleaned of mortar, and carried to the right place. There were also digging, clearing of bushes, &c.

The heat was often extreme. We found overalls, and nothing else, except Spanish sandals, a satisfactory working dress.

One of the deserted houses was to be used as a hospital for refugee children, and this was being got ready first of all.

Each of the English workers had three Spanish boys working with

him. He did everything with the boys (there was no ordering about from a comfortable seat in the shade).

On various occasions we ran small classes at which the Spaniards taught us Spanish, whilst in exchange we taught them English. Some of the Spanish boys were very intelligent, and had already had some years of secondary education. Others were somewhat wild slum-dwellers from Madrid, extremely expert at knife-throwing! Most of us began to pick up Spanish rapidly from them; but it may be doubted whether it was always of the loftiest purity!

Many of the boys had lost their fathers in the war. Their talk was mostly of the fighting, especially of the air raids, the falling bombs, and what things are like afterward. They could not conceive of any kind of war except the class war now going on in Spain. One member of our team had been a British artillery officer in the Great War. When he told this to the boys, the reply was, "Then you shot down the workers."

On one occasion we noticed that one of the boys was slacking instead of working. On enquiry we found that it was his eighteenth birthday, and that he was expecting to be "called up." Nothing further was said about the slacking!

WE are urgently anxious to get our friends in England to "adopt" these boys (and others) individually. This means paying 1s. a day for maintenance, writing to them from time to time, and otherwise taking a personal interest in them.

Refugee children may be adopted in larger groups. For instance a large group at Rupi, Catalonia, has been adopted by a committee under the Lord Mayor of Birmingham. In such cases the cost is less; about £1 per month per child. Those interested in these adoption schemes should get into touch with the Joint Committee for Spanish Relief, 53 Marsham Street, London, S.W.

It is extremely difficult to get money, of any currency, into Spain. The great need is food, and food in easily-transportable, non-perishable forms, e.g. tinned or dried milk, or butter in strong packages. The supply and transport of such food, and the provision also of warm clothing and of the many kinds of equipment urgently needed for the colony on behalf of which we were working, may be arranged in consultation with the International Voluntary Service, the head of which is Professor Harvey, 6 Claremont Road, Leeds, 6.

WE were impressed, of course, by Spanish courtesy. The

delays at the frontier were lengthy: but the customs officials were delightful, and packed our ruck-sacks again for us after they had ransacked them—a thing I have never known before. In a book shop the small boy left in charge said to one of us, "Do me the honour to accept these three postcards gratuitously."

We were struck by the deep divisions between province and province: by the freely-expressed dislike of Catalonians for Basques; or of Madrilenos for Murcians, and so forth. It would seem that some form of radical decentralization is the only hope of a stable future.

We came to believe, rightly or wrongly, that both sides are weary of the fighting, and that this is only kept up by foreign intervention. Otherwise a truce need not be far off, perhaps on the lines of the *status quo*, with a loose confederation for the central control.

The food situation is undoubtedly very serious, especially in the great cities, where the bread and milk which we could generally obtain are not available.

One cannot but be astonished by the Spanish regional individualism. In our neighbouring town was a characteristic monument, "To the men who in 1873 gave their lives in defending this town."

Catalonia, at any rate, is a revolutionary country. It regards itself as having carried through, at one blow, the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917: and it is extremely conscious of this fact.

Whether deservedly or not, religion has made itself bitterly hated. The fine twelfth century Church in our

nearest town had been utterly destroyed, except the tower, which happens to have a useful clock. The last remaining stones were being carried off before our eyes. The boys with whom we were working execrated the name of Christian.

Provincial dissimilarities may be illustrated from the remark of an English lorry-driver, "In Barcelona they run for shelter when there is an air-raid. In Madrid (which knows much more about air-raids) they run into the streets to see the chasers engage the bombers."

In spite of war conditions and food shortage living, for an Englishman, is ridiculously cheap. Cigarettes (of a sort) are seventy a penny; a hat 3½d.; shoes 6½d.; four days in Barcelona, including 200 miles railway travel and such food as could be got cost only 5s.; the fifteen hours' journey, Barcelona-Valencia, cost 2s. 6d. (plus a three hours' wait in a queue for a ticket).

Our warm thanks are due to the Spanish Embassy in London for an invaluable letter of recommendation supplied to the members of our team.

On one occasion the General, who commanded a brigade during the first defence of Madrid, and on being wounded became Education Minister in Catalonia, came to inspect the new-born colony on which we were working. He is reported to have expressed surprise and gratification that English "intellectuals" should work so hard!

Skilled men and women (especially agriculturalists) are needed to carry on the work. Communicate with Professor Harvey at the address given above.

In conclusion. Did we do any good? Perhaps not. But we may have paid a minute fraction of the debt which happier people owe to suffering Spain; to Spain because she is suffering.

## A Venture by the Pax Players

THERE have been various unfounded rumours circulating the peace movement concerning the Central Group of the International Pax Players Association, but all our readers can be assured of an evening of first-class entertainment when they present Winifred Carter's three-act play, *Moloch*, at the Fred Tallant Hall on Thursday, October 7.

This will be the first time that these players, who have done so much for the benefit of other peace organizations, will put on a show for the benefit of their own funds. The success of this venture will enable them to branch out into a more ambitious programme for the coming season.

In the past it has been necessary for the players to construct their own properties and costumes as several of their performances have been given free of charge on behalf of various charity organizations.

As anyone who has had any interest in dramatic societies will know, it is very necessary for them to have some funds behind them to stand the many expenses, such as royalties, travelling expenses, and the like.

### GOOD PROPAGANDA

To assist this excellent work for the cause of peace, I would ask our readers to support this courageous venture. Tickets may be obtained from Mrs. E. Eunice Horner or from myself, price

1s. and 2s., including tax.

The cast will include our contributor, Richard H. Ward, whose notes on play production have appeared in this paper for the past few weeks, Violet Baylis, Albert Baylis, Charles

## MIGHTIER than the Sword

A correspondent quotes the following from a book by William Jaggard on the Shakespeare Memorial, Stratford-on-Avon:

CLIFFORD SMITH put it fairly succinctly in stating that the "Glory of England shines more fully in a certain marvellous book of plays, published three centuries ago, than in her fleets and merchant marine. The printing press remains the driving force of civilization. This good book of 1623 proves a more effective ally than a thousand battleships."

Porter, Doris Baker, Kitty Dicks, and myself.

This play contains excellent peace propaganda and is based on the theme that if, in the time of war, mass murder is legal, then why not individual murder? The dialogue is freely interspersed with humour and the play will not fail to interest every member of the audience.

JOHN ATHEY

## FRIENDS' BOOK CENTRE

EUSTON ROAD

Do you know of this shop where you may examine at leisure and in comfort the latest books on religious, social and international problems?

Opposite Euston Station Phone EUSTON 3602





## PACIFISM AND THE YOUTH "ARMY"

TO Scout, Guide, B.B. or not to B.B.? That is the question. No doubt there are many in the above and similar movements who wish to do well by all their fellows; but facts remain facts. It is deplorable that the bright young faces of youth are continually being turned in the direction of war under the plea of "Patriotism," with which is incorporated "Good Citizenship."

A contributor to this discussion, writing as "W" (September 11 issue) says it is not fair to judge anyone by their past errors (referring to Baden-Powell), but that we must allow that in the interim they may have grown toward the light.

Did he, one wonders, hear over the air recently Baden-Powell's review of the Scout and Guide movement? "B.P." took pains to eulogize the part played by Scouts, at the request of the War Office, on the declaration of the Great War, in taking up War-duties, which, he said, they did "thundering well."

Let us cordially invite requests from these movements for speakers on pacifism and for our literature, and then when we see the "many" pacifist Scout leaders and Brigade officers helping the youth to collaborate with us in the witness for universal brotherhood we shall be more convinced.

ERNEST H. FLETCHER.

Resigned from C.L.B., 1903.

59 Bushmore Road, Hall Green, Birmingham.

## NOT MILITARIST

In reply to E. C. Maddox, who states of the Boys' Brigade, "from my past experience I would not allow my son to join such a movement," is he not being very narrow in his outlook? Because the Brigade indulged in certain anti-pacifist practices 25 years ago does that condemn the movement for all time?

They were, I believe, the first unit to see the "light" and withdraw from the Cadet Corps; and from personal experience of twelve years in the movement, both as officer and boy, I know that its influence is definitely not militarist.

To condemn the B.B., as a lot of fellow pacifists do, merely because it makes use of military ranks and of bugle bands, marching in military formation, &c., is to condemn also such organizations as the Salvation Army.

P. J. MORTLOCK,

Sec. Colchester P.P.U.,

Lieut. 1st Colchester Coy. B.B.

30 Scarletta Road, Colchester.

## OBJECT OF B.B.

As a member of the P.P.U. and an ex-member of the Boys' Brigade (the company I was connected with is now extinct) I should like to point out to all correspondents and readers that

The object of the Boys' Brigade is the advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys, and the promotion of habits of obedience, reverence, discipline, self-respect, and all that tends toward a true Christian manliness.

And that if this object was carried out to the letter, by members and non-members of the Brigade, the citizens of today and tomorrow would be reliable, honest, and manly.

JOSEPH HOLLANDS

17 Darwell Avenue, Patricroft, Manchester.

# LETTERS to the EDITOR

## AFTER THE CONVENTION

### "Political Direction"

"POLITICAL direction." What are we going to do about it?

There were some great speeches at Saturday's convention in Westminster Central Hall; but surely pacifists have had enough of splendid speeches by this time, unless such speeches contain practical proposals!

But for the proposal for a new political party, from the already active Christian Pacifist Party, the convention would have failed, in my opinion, to fulfil its purpose.

The exact meaning or intention of resolution 4, declaring it to be the "duty" (forsooth!) of the British Government to propose total disarmament by international agreement and failing this, to do so by example, struck me as being either very obscure, or entirely non-existent. We had the extraordinary spectacle of Labour M.P.s declaring that such a course is the *sine qua non* of pacifism, yet admitting their inability as Labour M.P.s to oppose "rearmament" (by vote in the "House" at any rate).

If anything emerges crystal clear from the convention, it is the necessity for a pacifist political party of the kind proposed by the Coventry group.

We appreciate the good work done by many Labour M.P.s and are sympathetic with some in their difficult position as pacifists, but this does not, however, make our own duty—(those of us who have not pledged allegiance to any other party) less clear—to proceed to political pacifism involving social and international justice based on equality.

May I ask that those responsible for the new party should publish their "basis" in PEACE NEWS as early as possible?

I. H. WILLIAMS.

679 Hertford Road, Freezywater, Waltham Cross.

## Economics

On pages two and six of your issue of September 18 are given various points with regard to pacifist views. I have yet to find that anyone in this country has the courage, the conviction, and the honesty to state that it is the ruthless economic policy initiated by the dominant political group in the House of Commons since 1931 that has been responsible for the rearmament of Germany, that has reduced international trade to chaos, reducing foreign nationals to conditions of the gravest hardship by the devaluation of sterling and placing a "ring fence" round the Empire by currency warfare, and tariff, and even "quota" measures.

When this country renounces bilateral for multilateral trade agreements and agrees to meet trade competition by fair methods of competitive manufacture and commerce, then sanity will begin to replace the murderous instincts and rivalries of international capitalism.

I know, from my industrial contacts and experience, the profound extent to which so-called prosperity is dependent upon armaments and unwarrantable rises in price levels in steel, coal, tin, and other commodities.

R. C. SMART.

14 Croftdown Road, Harborne, Birmingham.

In recent letters regarding Germany in your paper I am unable to see anything but little understanding of economics.

The German capitalists wish the return of "their" colonies for the same reason as the British capitalists wish to

### Policies & Principles

BOTH your correspondents make it very clear that the Labour Party has not a "Pacifist Policy." And more than that, I would emphasize that they do not want pacifists within their party. They are tolerated, it is true, and they add a certain amount of status to the party: especially such personalities as George Lansbury, Dr. Alfred Salter, and Lord Ponsonby. But the evidence of recent years goes

## SALES RECORD CORNER

A challenge to Birmingham. On Friday, September 17, I sold thirteen PEACE NEWS and one Huxley booklet outside the Queen's Hall in less than forty minutes.

Anyone who cares to sell to queues at musical concerts should not find it difficult to beat this. Music lovers are very interested in the pacifists' case.

DON LEANEY.

19 Queen Anne's Grove, Ealing, W.5.

Two members of the Peterborough P.P.U. group did a tour of public houses adjacent to the market late one evening and sold twelve PEACE NEWS in about ten minutes.—Ed.

to show that pacifists of lesser note are not encouraged as parliamentary candidates.

For many years the communists have been attempting to permeate the Labour Party: but their efforts are fruitless. The same applies to pacifist principles.

Pacifism is a principle of life; a basis for social thought and work, rather than social thought and work a basis for pacifism.

Why do not our friends suggest that pacifists should join other political bodies: they too have published their ideals for a social life. Politics are concerned with policies, whereas pacifists should be concerned with principles: to attempt a unity is only to seek further divorce from principles.

E. H. CLOGG.

243 Holdenhurst Road, Bournemouth.

retain them—as an access to raw materials and for investment.

German capitalists cannot, as it is sometimes foolishly suggested, buy raw materials from Britain, not only because of the obvious fact that the British capitalists would charge the maximum price, but because Germany needs some place for the investment of her surplus capital.

As long as capitalism exists in Germany, and there is no reason to suppose that it will not, at least for the next five years, Germany will demand the return of "her" colonies. If she does not get them she will go to war for them.

Hitler and Göring are pathological, but the men who set them up are not; they are merely business men who think along the line of business—short-sighted business men perhaps.

It is for the British people to decide whether they are prepared to hand over the Crown colonies to an international body or go to war to retain them.

Pacifism without any understanding of economics is futile.

DONALD R. S. DEY.

Ulva Ferry Inn, Mull, Argyll.

## "PEACE POLICY" OF GERMANY

YOUR correspondent, Mr. A. P. Laurie, is incredibly naïve. He states that Germany's foreign policy is a "peace policy." Has he never heard of Almeria or Guernica? Or does he believe that fascism is right in combating forcibly the liberal-Jewish-Marxist-bolshevist menace that is so relentlessly undermining the very foundations of our civilization?

Socialism is the symbol of the brotherhood of man in a society planned for plenty. Does Mr. Laurie really think that this definition is to be reconciled with the hysterical race-hatred and mass belt-tightening of Hitlerism?

W. J. DUFF.

74 Wimborne Avenue, Earlswood, Surrey.

## FASCISM A REALITY

Mr. Laurie had better rid himself of the curious notion that fascism is merely a subjective idea, on the basis of which people in this country have "created out of their own inner consciousness an image of modern Germany." So far from being a mere "catchword," fascism is an objective reality—and a ghastly one at that. It is a reality whose vicious and shallow ideology has enslaved a great nation and bids fair to plunge the world into disaster unless it is checked in time.

Secondly, Mr. Laurie should be less ambiguous about his phrasing. He

OWING to heavy pressure on space we have unfortunately been compelled to hold over as many letters as would have filled another page.

speaks of nations going to war "to fight the 'Eidolon' of another nation." What, precisely, does he mean by "nation" in this connexion? If he means the broad masses of the people, then no doubt he is right when he speaks of fighting the "Eidolon" of another nation, for they are duped into fighting for a false ideal which bears no relation to reality. On the other hand, if by "nation" Mr. Laurie is referring to the ruling clique which has the economic and political power to wage war, then he is hopelessly out in his reckoning. The ruling class of any State certainly does not go to war to fight a vague "Eidolon"—at least not in the contemporary world; it fights for hard-boiled economic and commercial reasons.

He further tells us that Germany's domestic policy is an attempt to reconcile a socialist State with a capitalist system. It is nothing of the kind. German fascism is a diabolically clever system of imposing a capitalist tyranny upon the nation by totalitarian methods.

Finally, I found it difficult to believe my eyes when I was informed that "the foreign policy of Germany is a peace policy," and that "wars of conquest . . . are utterly opposed to the whole principle of National Socialism." Perhaps he would be good enough to give a plain man a few proofs of his contention? For my part, I am afraid that I have to accept Hitler's feverish rearmament programme, his belligerence toward France and Czechoslovakia, and his bloodcurdling threats against the Soviet Union at their face value.

ALEXANDER C. SPENCE.

54 Dresden Road, Highgate, N.19.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.



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Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

# AWAY FROM BIG BEN



MOST visitors to the Paris Exhibition will long remember among their blurred impressions the grotesque figures surmounting the pavilion of the U.S.S.R.

Holding high a hammer and a sickle the man and woman lean forward in defiant exaltation. Directly opposite stands the German building, solid and tall, and on the top the German Eagle, its face turned sideways as if in disdain.

Both buildings are internally arresting though distinctive in arrangement and motif. The Soviet is openly propagandist with large busts of Stalin and other eminent communists (some more well-known characters are missing!) and numerous pictures, charts, and graphs. The German exhibit contains a charming collection of porcelain, furniture, musical instruments, and books with a few examples of electrical products.

There are no military exhibits, no brownshirts or blackguards, and among the large pictures on the wall only one that contains Hitler—a small figure standing in a motor car running down the Unter den Linden. One has the impression of an industrious, peaceful, artistic and cultured nation far removed from the sadistic degradation of anti-semitism and similar perversions. *Der Stürmer* is not among the literature.

Vast crowds still throng the Exhibition at week ends and visit impartially Soviet and German pavilions alike.

An exhibition in Berlin or Moscow would draw multitudes who would drift and chatter, eat and examine in much the same way. Feet would grow just as weary and children would get lost whatever the flag that waved above.

And, one might add, the crowd behaves fundamentally in the same fashion whatever its European language, the style of its dress, or the minor characteristics it may possess.

Fifty thousand Frenchmen will laugh, cheer, sympathize, or thrill according to the same psychological processes that will activate fifty thousand Germans or British. There are differing stresses and tensions, of course, but mass emotion is identical. Hence, the sinister success of State propaganda in the dictator countries. Given a monopoly of the Press, the wireless, the cinema, and all the hypnotic stimuli of music and colour, and individuals can be molten into a level of cohesion that will liberate them from personal responsibility.

Hitler was the magnetic focus at Nuremberg, where yet again, despite the rain, consolidated Nazis throbbed ecstatically. But human beings who happened to have been born in Russia have been conditioned to direct their emotional currents toward Stalin, otherwise there is no difference in the

## ECONOMIC UNREST BEHIND POLITICAL PROBLEMS

"REARMAMENT," Sir William Beveridge has pointed out, "is no remedy for unemployment unless it ends in war."

At Geneva last week the Australian delegate, Mr. Bruce, showed how "exaggerated forms of nationalism and extremes of national aggrandisement"—and therefore rearmament also—are in fact the very fruits of poverty and insecurity in the economic sphere.

"If we could, by international co-operation," Mr. Bruce told the League Assembly, "improve living standards, bring about a fair standard of nutrition, lessen disease, increase health, and remove the fear of unemployment, I believe we should change the whole world atmosphere, lay much of the unrest that exists today, and pave the way for a solution of the political problems that confront us."

### FOUR POINTS

To the Second Committee of the Assembly (which deals with economic and financial questions) he subsequently suggested that the League should examine the following points:—

1. The methods whereby governments could improve the standard of living;
2. Measures for the prevention or mitigation of depressions;
3. Agricultural credits for Central Europe; and
4. Economic and financial tendencies likely to influence monetary systems in the future.

Inquiries conducted by the League's economic services in the past few years have already shown that, although the world can produce plenty for all, the majority of people suffer in varying degree from want. The Australian proposals therefore come as a suggested line of action now that the facts are known.

## Impracticable Articles in Covenant

In addition to economic problems the delegates at Geneva have been discussing the League itself, and Mr. Bruce's speech to the Assembly also dealt with the question of its reform.

Experience had undoubtedly shown, he said, the practical impossibility of putting into full operation the principles of the Covenant by a League from which some of the greatest States abstained.

Referring to China's appeal to the League, Mr. Bruce added that it was imperative that the reality with which that action confronted them should be faced. From a practical point of view the League could not, in its present condition, proceed under Article seventeen (dealing with disputes with non-members).

process. Certainly, the latter direction is preferable to the former.

Fortunately, we have an advantage here, for there is opportunity of diversity of direction. Whether the freedom that means diversity can prevail against the order that is uniformity is the crucial problem for the student of politics. Peace can take either form—the peace of the hills or the peace of the courtyard; the dynamic peace of cooperative exploration or the static peace of dominative conservation.

## FUTURE OF THE EMPIRE

### Conservatives' Protest

A RESOLUTION deploring "the inconsistent attitude of the Labour Party on foreign politics" and drawing attention to "the danger to peace which has resulted, and which may result, from such an attitude" will probably be moved at the Conservative Party annual conference to be held at Scarborough on Thursday and Friday.

Several other resolutions express support of the Government, and, as a parallel to the "United Front" proposals now agitating the Labour movement, is

a proposal that every effort should be made to bring into one association all the elements which support the principles of the "National" Government as at present constituted.

No doubt the controversy aroused will also match that accompanying the "unity" campaign in the ranks of the Opposition.

Sir Henry Page Croft, spokesman for "out-and-out" imperialists, intends to move a resolution

noting "with grave concern proposals emanating from certain Liberal and from socialist circles for the dismemberment of the Empire by the surrender of sovereignty in the British colonies to some international body," and recording an "emphatic opinion that any proposal of this character would be a callous disregard of the rights of property both national and individual; a treacherous betrayal of all inhabitants of those colonies, and disastrous to the welfare of our countrymen, whether engaged in the factories of Great Britain or in production overseas."

The resolution "further calls upon the Conservative Party to resist these subversive proposals, and to make the integrity and unity of the Empire under the Crown one of its foremost articles of faith."

## Not So Isolationist!

The U.S.A. and "splendid isolation" are inseparably linked in the minds of most people in Britain, so that it would probably come as a shock to read that

"The United States has steadily participated in the process of international legislation almost from its inception;

"It is now a member of about forty international administrative unions under treaty, dealing with various humanitarian, economic, and cultural topics; and that

"Since 1865 it has perfected eighty or more general agreements on such topics."

The authority for this is Henry Reiff, Professor of Government at St. Lawrence University, and in the current number of *International Conciliation* he discusses "The United States and International Administrative Unions," giving facts to justify his assertion that the U.S.A. "is a veteran, if not an inveterate, joiner of unions or leagues of nations." Its isolationist policy would thus seem to apply only in the political sphere.

(*International Conciliation* is published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace from 405 West 117th Street, New York City, price five cents.)

## Platform Pans

(Concluded from page 7, column 1)

the last two or three years, of the forced labour which is still a part of British policy in certain of our African territories, and of the loss of the best territory in Kenya suffered by the natives in order that the white settlers should be supplied.

### As Others Hear Us

HERE is a German (Dr. Silex's) interpretation of "Mr. Eden's fine speech at Geneva":—

"I don't know why you are all so worried about world politics. World politics will only begin in 1942, when British rearmament is ready. Then we shall have twice as many warships as today.

"We shall see to it that we dominate the Mediterranean route. There are no prestige problems for us in the Far East, for world politics will only begin in 1942.

"If you others have any trouble it is your own fault. Nobody needs colonies. If you have no foreign exchange you only need to buy some. With that you can pay us for raw materials. We shall even allow you to approach us about preference duties in our colonies.

"We have, of course, no influence on the trade policy of our Dominions, and cannot therefore open the door which we slammed at Ottawa. If anybody wants anything else he only needs to say so. A committee will be set up and the answer may be given after 1942."

### Yer Pays Yer Penny . . .

FURTHER evidence that, as we stated in our issue of September 18, truth has already become a war casualty is contained in these statements appearing on the same day:—

According to the Hendaye correspondent of the *Matin*, Salamanca claims to have definite proof that two of the "pirate" submarines which have been operating in the Mediterranean are Soviet craft.—*Daily Mail*.

The Spanish Government has, and has submitted to the League, convincing proof that the pirate ships were in fact warships of the Italian Navy.—*Daily Herald*.

### Moonshine

DIARY note of the future: *Full moon; air raid due*. This tip to diary publishers is contained in this report in *The Times*, September 25, of Berlin's blackout:—

The black-out was completely efficient; and completely ineffective. A full moon was shining in a clear sky and in its rays Berlin lay almost ostentatiously exposed. London, seen 24 hours later in equally brilliant moonlight, was a glittering enigma.

### Women's Power

A CORRESPONDENT writes:—

Here is a fantastic viewpoint which finds favour among the masses. It is new to me but may not be to you:—"If Britain had been properly armed the Italo-Abyssinian war would never have taken place." And it is women who talk this rubbish—women who outvote men by so much that they could stop war tomorrow if they chose to.

## LATE NEWS

"No stronger evidence of widespread interest in P.P.U. could be found than success of public meeting at Ely, Monday," Canon Raven told PEACE NEWS. Corn Exchange crammed, overflowing, to hear Dick Sheppard, Alex Wood, audience numbering 1,200.

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## Peace News

October 2, 1937

Please send **FULL** Particulars

of your meetings, as follows: Date. Time. Place (in full). Particulars (speaker(s) and subject). Organizers (including address).

Owing to heavy pressure on space, only public meetings or meetings with *special* speakers (i.e. NOT regular, or branch meetings, unless addressed by an important public speaker) can be inserted in the "Diary of the Week."

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### LITERATURE

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### MEETINGS

**FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION** (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, led by Rev. Alan Balding, is being held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 165 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

**"SI VIS PACEM PARA PACEM"**  
**"LIBERTY AND FRATERNITY"**  
**"ACTA NON VERBA"**

Addresses given on above subjects Sundays, 11 a.m., Lindsey Hall, Nottingham Hill Gate. All welcome.

October 3.—A Tribute to China in Scriptures, Poems, Songs, and Folk Tales, by Mr. H. D. Liem and other Chinese Friends.

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Wanted

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What is the pacifist attitude to events in Spain to-day?

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## DIARY OF THE WEEK

October

2 (Sat.) 3 p.m. United Service, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, **LONDON**; preacher: Canon Raven; London Regional Federation of the L.N.U. 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. **WORCESTER PARK**, Surrey; poster parade. 8 p.m. Livingstone Hall, Broadway, **WESTMINSTER**; meeting to celebrate Mahatma Gandhi's birthday; Mr. Laurence Housman (chairman), Dr. Alex Wood, Dr. Harold Mann, and Indian speakers; Friends of India.

3 (Sun.) 8 p.m. Town Hall, **UTTOXETER**; Canon S. D. Morris and Miss Mary Gamble at public meeting; P.P.U. 8.15 p.m. The Institute, **CHEADLE GREEN**; peace (sound) films, including *Kameradschaft*; P.P.U. (See page 4.)

3-9 (Sun.—Sat.) Peace week, **BIRKENHEAD**.

3-10 (Sun.—Sun.) Peace week, **CLAPHAM**. Peace Week, **SKIPTON**.

4 (Mon.) 8 p.m. Town Hall, **SUTTON COLDFIELD**; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Canon Stuart Morris and Miss Mary Gamble. 8 p.m. **MILBORNE PORT**; meeting to be addressed by Frank R. Hancock; Toc H.

4-10 (Mon.—Sun.) Peace Week, **DAGENHAM**. Peace Week, **SETTLE**.

5 (Tues.) 1.20—2 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road, **LONDON, N.W.1**; Dr. Chang Peng Chun on "Latest News from China"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

3 p.m. **CERNE ABBAS**; meeting to be addressed by Frank R. Hancock; Sisterhood.

7.45 p.m. Baptist Church, **SHERBORNE**; meeting to be addressed by Frank R. Hancock.

7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Friar Lane, **NOTTINGHAM**; Dr. Leighton Yates on air-raid "precautions"; P.P.U.

7.45 p.m. King's Weigh House, club entrance, Thomas Street, (opposite Selfridge's), **LONDON, W.1**; London group leaders' meeting; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Foresters' Hall, **DUNDEE**; Miss Mary Gamble, Canon S. D. Morris, and A. B. MacKay at public meeting; P.P.U.

6 (Wed.) 3 p.m. British Schools, South Worpole Way, **MORTLAKE**; John Barclay at women's meeting on "Which Way to Peace?"; Richmond Peace Week. 7.45 p.m. Town Hall, **BOURNEMOUTH**; George Lansbury,

Lord Ponsonby, and Dr. Alfred Salter at demonstration; Parliamentary Pacifist Group.

8 p.m. St. Philip's Church Hall, Lindsay Road, **WORCESTER PARK**; Captain Philip Mumford and John Barclay at public meeting; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Hornsey Town Hall, The Broadway, **CROUCH END**; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Lord Arnold, and H. Runham Brown; P.P.U. 8 p.m. Wild Court, **KINGSWAY, W.C.2**; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

7 (Thurs.) 1.10—2 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row, **LONDON, E.C.4**; Rev. C. Paul Gliddon on "Pacifism and the Church of England"; City P.P.U. group. 5.30 p.m. onwards, 13 Paternoster Row, **LONDON, E.C.4**; "Questions asked and answered"; tea obtainable; P.P.U.

7.30 p.m. Congregational Schoolroom, **COTTINGHAM**; social evening, members and friends; P.P.U.

7.30 p.m. Temperance Hall, Wellgate, **ROTHERHAM**; Canon S. D. Morris; P.P.U.

7.30 p.m. **MILBORNE PORT**; meeting to be addressed by Frank R. Hancock; F.O.R. 8 p.m. Fred Tallant Hall, 141 Drummond Street, **LONDON, N.W.1**; 3-act play, *Moloch*; Central Group, International Pax Players' Association (see page 9.)

8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, High Road, **TOTTENHAM**; meeting of North London members taking part in Tottenham poster parade, October 16; P.P.U. 8 p.m. Brotherhood Hall (next Post Office), High Road, **WEMBLEY**; Captain Philip S. Mumford on "Pacifism in War-Time"; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Cooperative Hall, 582 Kingston Road, **RAYNES PARK**; joint meeting to discuss "The Citizen Faces War," by Robert and Barbara Donington; P.P.U. and Left Book Club.

8 (Fri.) 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens, (basement, entrance in Endsleigh Street), **LONDON, W.C.1**; social for Central London members, P.P.U. (See Notice Board, p. 4.)

9-10 (Sat.—Sun.) "The Briars," **CRICH**, near Matlock; week-end school; Leicester Christian Pacifist Fellowship and P.P.U.

10 (Sun.) 8 p.m. Chalmers Church, **DUNDEE**; Canon S. D. Morris at united peace service; Church of Scotland Peace Society, &c.

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